DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 078 330 CG 008 128

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TITLE	An Experimental Study of the Differential Effects of Parole Supervision for a Group of Adolescent Boys and Girls. Summary Report.
INSTITUTION	National Inst. of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Mar 73
NOTE	31p.; Summary of Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota (1972)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Adolescents; Community Role; Corrective Institutions; Counselors; Crime; *Delinquency; Delinquent Rehabilitation; *Delinquents; Females; *Institutionalized (Persons); Males; *Parole Officers; Recidivism; Research Projects; Socially Deviant Behavior; Supervision; Youth; Youth Problems

ABSTRACT

This study was designed to assess whether randomly selected male and female parolees could do as well without formal parole supervision as under conventional parole supervision. In addition, the kind and amount of help sought out and received within the community by the respective experimental and control group subjects was examined. The characteristic of juvenile-aged parolees released from the two major correctional institutions in Minnesota are also reported. Data presented indicate that simple assigning cases on the basis of providing differential degrees of exposure to parole supervision did not have a significant positive impact upon the parole adjustment of the subjects. Implications for the parole worker or counselor include: (1) a more detailed look at the career of the offender and particularly as this develops out of interaction with elements of the criminal justice system; (2) the nature of the organizational contexts within which the helping work is purportedly being conducted; and (3) the nature of the helping work itself. (Author/SES)

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AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF PAROLE SUPERVISION FOR A GROUP OF ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS

Summary Report

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Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF PAROLE SUPERVISION FOR A GROUP OF ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS

Summary Report

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This project was supported by Grant Number NI-69-052 awarded by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, under the authority of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official opinion or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

March 1973

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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FOREWORD

Placement of a youth or adult on parole assumes his readiness to re-enter the community following the isolation of a prison experience given some amount of supervision and aid from trained personnel. It also assumes that the community is as well protected by the ability of the parole worker to intervene as it would be by continuing to hold the offender in an institution. Yet the question constantly arises as to the efficacy of the parole experience for offenders whose ultimate release does not appear to pose much danger to the community.

This report summarizes the results of a two year study aimed at determining whether juvenile boys and girls considered to be relatively "good" parole risks in terms of not posing danger to the community could be reintegrated into useful community life as well without formal parole supervision as would a corresponding group receiving conventional supervision. The subjects were juveniles to age 18 being paroled from Minnesota juvenile institutions and meeting specific "low-risk" criteria. Subjects were randomly divided into experimental and control groups. Various objective and subjective criteria were used to determine general adjustment to the community ten months after release from the institution.

The results of this study add another building block to work being done through the National Institute in the assessment of alternatives to the traditional methods of incarceration and control. This effort has shown that other experiments in this direction are certainly warranted.

The full study report upon which this summary is based can be obtained from the National Technical Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Virginia 22151.

MARTIN B. DANZIGER
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Introduction

This is a summary report of a unique study which examined outcomes resulting from radically different degrees of parole supervision given to juvenile-aged boys and girls released from correctional institutions in Minnesota between August 1, 1970 and May 31, 1971.[1]

The major aim of this study was to determine whether juveniles released from institutional settings would adjust as well on parole without formal supervision from parole officers as a corresponding group receiving conventional parole supervision. Other objectives of the study were to identify the nature, amount, and type of help sought out and received by these youth within the community setting upon parole release, and to identify the personal and social characteristics of the population of parolees released from the two major delinquency institutions in the State over the course of a ten-month period.

Background and Method

In Minnesota, all juvenile-aged offenders committed to the Youth Conservation Commission[2] are released on parole status from institutional settings operated by the Department of Corrections. There are no flat releases from institutions. In order to conduct a study dealing with the differential effects of parole supervision, it was therefore necessary to obtain the sanction and active cooperation of the members of the Youth Commission as well as the staff members of the Field Services Division of the Corrections Department.

Negotiations conducted between the researcher and the members of the Youth Commission as well as the supervisory and administrative staff of the

Field Services Division necessitated a number of compromises in the research design.[3] For example, the question on the status of the youth assigned to experimental and control groups was resolved by the policy consideration of the releasing body; flat releases from institutions were not to be made. Given this constraint, the fact of parole had to remain a constant for all youth assigned to the study with modifications being made around the relative degree of supervision received while on this status. Linked with the previous question was the issue of the kind of restrictions to be placed upon the assignment of youth to the pool from which random selections were to be made. Research considerations dictated the greatest potential generalizability of the findings. Following from this, the simple fact of imminent release on parole would be a necessary and sufficient basis for inclusion in the assignment pool. The paroling body, being sensitive to potential political repercussions, felt responsible for guarding against the possibility of certain types of youth being assigned to experimental status. Given this constraint, four criteria of elimination from the study pool were eventually arrived at through negotiations with the Youth Commission: 1) officially known involvement in acts of either arson or rape; 2) diagnosis of "severe emotional disturbance" at the time of institutional release; 3) release to a treatment institution, group home facility, or living situation other than the legal parental home; and 4) a consistent record of assaults. Youth eliminated by any of these criteria were placed in the residual group, released on conventional parole supervision, and followed up along with the youth in the experimental and control groups.

The follow-up period was set at ten months for each youth assigned to either the experimental, control, or residual group. Setting the follow-up

period at ten months was primarily a function of the fact that, given no known involvement in delinquent acts, most juveniles are released from parole status during the eleventh month.

Because the formal status of "parolee" was to be a constant, modifications were made in the parole agreement for those youth in the experimental group. The conditions of the parole contract were: 1) that the youth must obey the laws of the community, and 2) notify the parole office if a permanent move out of the community was planned.

Members of the experimental group clearly understood that no contact with the parole office was necessary. However, these youth were allowed to initiate contact with a parole officer when they believed they needed help. Parole officers were discouraged from initiating contact with youth in the experimental group but were permitted to respond to parolee-initiated requests for help or to emergencies.

Given that situations would inevitably arise in which parole officer contact would be made by members of the experimental group, some control was necessary over the nature and number of the contacts. Procedures were worked out so that at the time of such contacts an "agent contact form" was completed and returned directly to the research office. This form provided information on the date, type, and manner in which the contact was made (e.g., office visit, telephone) as well as the expressed reason for contact and the action taken. A check on the reliability with which these forms was completed on the experimental group was available in the form of official progress reports submitted at the tenth month of parole or at the time of an alleged parole violation. When a comparison was made of the number of contact forms received on the youth in the experimental group with the number of contacts specified on the official reports, no significant differences were found.

As a final source of data, an Interview Schedule was used in this study to gain information around three major areas: 1) the type and relative seriousness of problems encountered within the community by these parolees; 2) the type and relative importance of help provided to these youth within the community setting; and 3) the youths' assessments of subjectively defined potential problem areas. This schedule was administered at the end of the tenth month to those experimental and control group members still within the community setting. For those youth returned to an institutional setting prior to the tenth month on parole, the schedule was administered at the time of re-institutionalization.

Viewed in chronological sequence, five major steps as diagrammed in the accompanying chart were involved in this project: 1) the identification and assignment of boys and girls from the two institutions to a study pool or a residual group; 2) random assignment to experimental or control status from within the study pool; 3) release on parole; 4) provision of conventional parole supervision or no parole supervision to the respective groups; and 5) evaluation of the parole behavior of the study groups.

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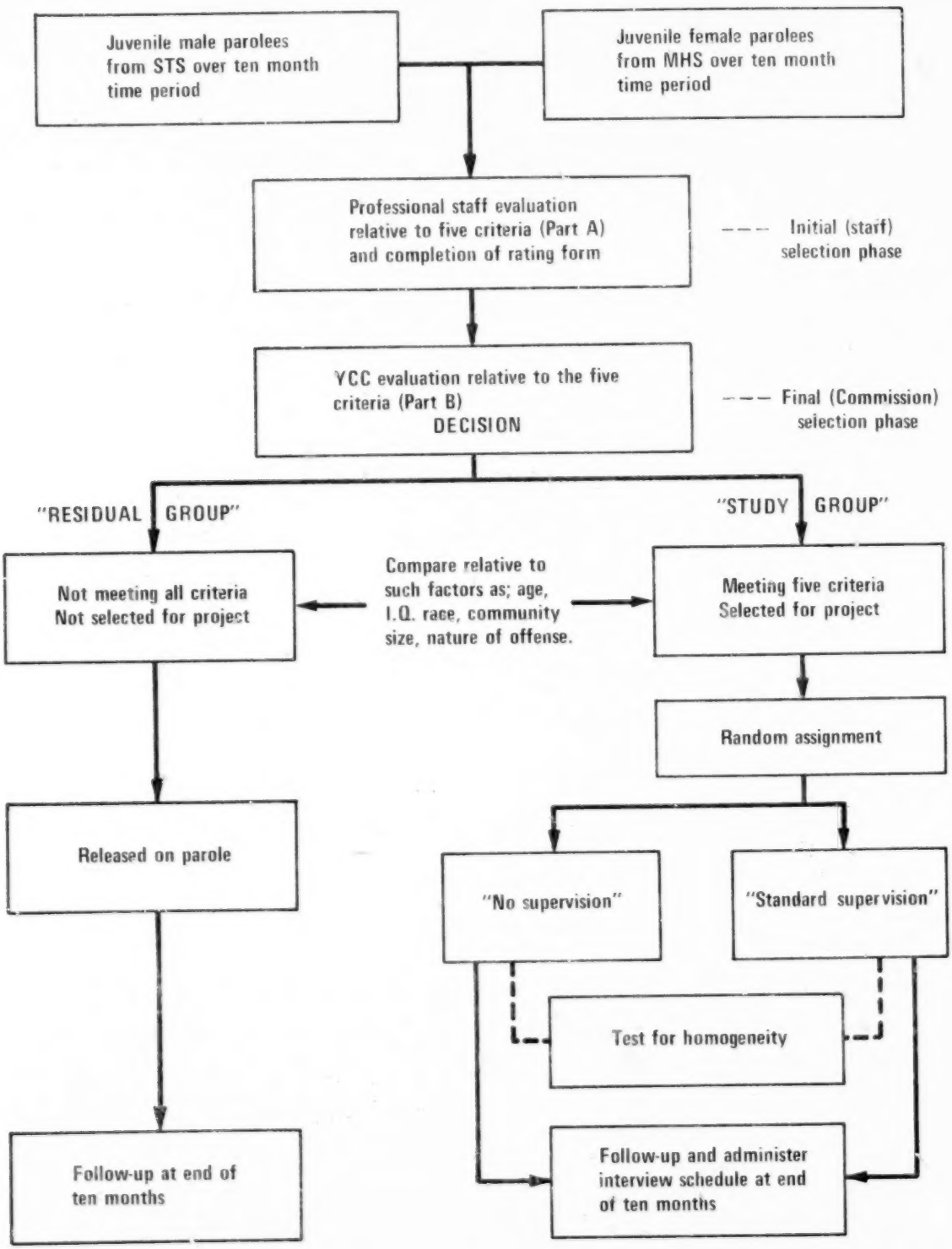
FLOW CHART OF STUDY DESIGN


Juvenile male parolees from STS over ten month time period
Juvenile female parolees from MHS over ten month time period
Professional staff evaluation relative to five criteria (Part A) and completion of rating form
--- Initial (staff) selection phase
YCC evaluation relative to the five criteria (Part B) DECISION
--- Final (Commission) selection phase
"RESIDUAL GROUP"
"STUDY GROUP"
Not meeting all criteria Not selected for project
Compare relative to such factors as; age, I.Q. race, community size, nature of offense.
Meeting five criteria Selected for project
Random assignment
Released on parole
"No supervision"
"Standard supervision"
Test for homogeneity
Follow-up at end of ten months
Follow-up and administer interview schedule at end of ten months

Previous Research

The question of the effects of providing differential degrees of exposure to parole and probation supervision, usually in the form of reduced caseloads, has received a great deal of research attention.[4] For the most part this research has failed to demonstrate the superiority of the experimental treatments.

In contrast with previous research, the present study does not deal with different sized caseloads as the independent variable. Instead of focusing on reduced caseloads and then making the assumption that a corresponding increase in supervision follows, the present study made no such assumption and instead dealt directly with the differential amount of supervision provided by parole officers.[5] Another major difference between this study and others is that the existing manpower resources of the Department of Corrections were utilized. No use of specially trained or selected parole officers was made; consequently, the findings should be of greater relevance to correction departments. Also, this study deals solely with juvenile-aged male and female parolees as contrasted with the bulk of the previous research which generally used older age groups of male parolees.

The Study Population

Table One provides the breakdown on the population of boys and girls released from the respective institutions during the ten-month assignment phase.

Table One
Sex Distribution of Paroled Juveniles by Type of Research Group

GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
Experimental	85	35	120
Control	85	29	114
Residual	92	52	144
TOTALS	262	116	378

This table shows that sixty-five percent (170) of the boys and fifty-five percent of the girls (64) were judged by the Youth Commission as meeting the four study criteria and randomly assigned to either experimental or control groups. The major reason for the difference between the boys and girls in meeting the study criteria was due to a greater proportion of the girls not returning to live in their legal parental home

Social and Family Background Characteristics of the Population

Information was obtained on the social and family background characteristics as well as on the known delinquent and treatment records of the total population of boys and girls. This information permitted comparisons among the research groups to assess the adequacy of randomization procedures, the comparability of the groups by sex, and the extent to which the residual cases differed from the study groups.

Significant differences[6] were found in comparing the male and female study groups on ethnic background, grade level completed, and age at release from the institutions on the present commitment. There were proportionately more Indian girls at the female institution than Indian boys at the male institution and proportionately more Negro boys than Negro girls at the respective institutions. This difference was seen primarily as a function of the

geographical distribution of Blacks and Indians in the State. The boys were significantly older upon release and, as a consequence, had completed higher grade levels in school. No significant differences were found between the male and female study groups on religious background, intelligence, size of community paroled to, type of living arrangement upon parole, type of work of parents, or social class level.

No significant differences were found in testing for equivalence between the experimental and control groups within each sex nor were any significant differences brought out in the comparison of the residual and study groups. In short, the random assignment procedures appear to have established the equivalence of personal and social characteristics across the study groups while the residual group members were also essentially similar to the study groups.

A very high proportion of the total population of boys and girls came from homes characterized by parents with a high school education or less, low status, low paying jobs, and with the mother employed out of the home.

Delinquent and Treatment Record of the Population

A number of significant differences were found in comparing the male and female study groups on the wide variety of variables relating to officially recorded delinquencies and correctional placements. Across all groups the boys as compared to the girls were found to have experienced significantly more placements on probation, proportionately more placements in County operated delinquency institutions, were officially recorded as having committed more serious offenses, and had served more time in correctional institutions. No significant differences were found between the respective study groups on

age first found guilty of an offense, number of placements in residential treatment institutions, or number of months served on the present commitment to the respective institutions.

The only significant differences found in testing for equivalence within the study groups were within the male study group with proportionately more controls than experimentals having experienced prior placements in correctional camp-type settings while significantly more experimentals than controls had been committed and placed in the present institutional settings for the commission of relatively more serious offenses. On all other variables the respective male and female experimental and control groups were found to be equivalent. No significant differences on any of the variables were found in comparing the male and female study and residual groups.

In order to compare the groups on offenses that resulted in the present institutional placement, an index of offense seriousness was constructed and dichotomized into high and low seriousness.[7] Table Two presents information by group on the type of offenses officially recorded on each youth for the present commitment to the Youth Commission and resulting in placement in the two institutions.

Table Two
Seriousness of Present Offenses by Group and Sex

	MALES			FEMALES		
	Resid	Exp	Cont	Resid	Exp	Cont
High Serious	(299)	(76)	(57)	(8)	(11)	(5)
	55%	48%	38%	10%	18%	12%
Low Serious	(75)	(80)	(88)	(71)	(48)	(38)
	45%	52%	62%	90%	82%	98%
TOTALS	(166)	(156)	(145)	(79)	(59)	(43)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

A significant difference exists between the male and female study groups. A larger proportion of the recorded offenses of the male study group members (44%) compared to the females (16%) fall within the high seriousness range. Similar variations are also reflected between the male and female residual group subjects with a larger proportion of the males falling within the high seriousness range (55%) compared to the proportion of female residual cases falling within this range (10%).

Looking at the offenses listed for the subjects in terms of what Sellin and Wolfgang[8] have termed "juvenile status" type offenses - those which, if committed by an adult would not be a crime - some surprising results are evident. Of the total number of 403 offenses listed for the population, approximately 85 percent or 355 can be defined as juvenile status offenses. Specifically, this total number of 355 offenses was made up of the following: beyond control of parents, incorrigibility, violation of liquor laws, disobedience, absenting, runaway, truancy, curfew, and loitering.

For all groups of girls, they individually averaged 1.55 offenses; 1.23 of these offenses were of the juvenile status type. All groups of boys averaged 1.77 offenses; .81 of these were acts which, if committed by an adult, would not be crimes. In short, the girls have quite clearly committed less serious types of offenses than the boys. Furthermore, to a considerable extent the total group of girls and, to a slightly lesser extent, the boys have arrived at institutional placements as a result of very minor types of offenses which, if committed by an adult, would not result in apprehension let alone institutional placement.[9]

In summary, the information dealing with the delinquent and treatment records of the various groups supplements the data presented on the social and family background characteristics. For the wide number of variables

employed, the experimental and control groups were found to be equivalent, and very little difference was found between the respective male and female residual and study groups. Rather marked differences were found when comparisons were made between the male and female study groups. The girls were not only significantly younger but had experienced significantly fewer opportunities than the boys to experience success within the community either on probation status or within a locally operated institutional setting.

From this data, there would seem to be a differential bias operating in the manner in which boys and girls are handled by the juvenile justice systems of the State. Once brought to Court, juvenile girls as compared to boys are committed to the State-level Youth Commission and placed in State-operated delinquency institutions for the commission of less serious offenses.[10]

Outcome: Parole Officer-Parolee Contacts

Since members of the experimental group were to have contact with a parole officer only in the case of a crisis type of situation, it is not surprising that significantly fewer contacts were made than with the control and residual group members. (See Table Three below.) It is interesting that girls in the experimental group had almost twice as many contacts with parole officers as boys. When the nature of these contacts was controlled for (direct or indirect), it became clear that significantly more of the contacts for the girls as compared to the boys were of the indirect or collateral type. In short, other people - whether family members, school personnel, or social welfare agency staff - tended to more frequently contact parole officers about girls than about boys. This finding would tend to reinforce a picture of the relatively greater degree of concern engendered in others over the perceived misbehaviors of girls.

Table Three
Mean Number of Officially Recorded Contacts by Group

GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
Experimental	5.19	9.39	14.58
Control	46.90	69.03	115.93
Residual	70.20	74.46	144.66
TOTALS	122.29	152.88	275.17

For both male and female experimental group members the bulk of the contacts made with parole officers were recorded during the first ten to fifteen weeks following release on parole. These contacts largely consisted of confirming the fact that, indeed, the youth would not be receiving formal parole supervision.

In addition, the contacts made between experimental youth and parole officers tended to present a picture of a "social broker" type of role being performed by the field agents, who, for example, functioned as a resource person mediating between the parolee, the family, and the larger community. In this respect the parole officers appeared to function to maintain a web of relationships with a variety of people significant in the life of the parolee.

Outcome: Difficulties Experienced While on Parole

When youth were asked to rank the relative seriousness of difficulty experienced around key life areas, a high degree of agreement was obtained. In decreasing order of difficulty, both boys and girls ranked family related problems as the most serious, followed by problems associated with school, and problems related to work. The only other area noted by a substantial number of the youth were problems associated with the use of alcohol and drugs.

For both sexes, a clear priority of importance was attached to the types of people with whom problems were discussed; mothers and fathers were given highest importance followed in order by friends or peers, sisters and brothers, social workers/psychologists/psychiatrists, school staff members, clergy, and other relatives. In short, close relatives and friends as compared to more professionally defined helpers were regarded as more significant kinds of people with whom youth preferred to discuss their problems. This would seem to bring into question the relevance of professional "people workers" within the context of an agency strongly imbued with authority over the lives of children.

In response to the question of whether they had gone to a variety of service agencies for help while on parole, only a small percentage of the youth indicated having done so - 23 percent having gone to a school for help, 19 percent to a public welfare department, 11 percent to a church, 10 percent to a police department, and 6 percent to a mental health center: help with problems does not appear to have been commonly sought out from established "people serving" agencies. Of those youth who did indicate having gone to a social welfare agency for help, the vast majority defined the help received as being worthwhile. (See Table Four.)

Table Four
Degree of Helpfulness of Social Agencies

	MALES		FEMALES	
	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont
Very Helpful	(9) 21%	(11) 26%	(9) 35%	(2) 13%
Somewhat Helpful	(28) 65%	(24) 55%	(11) 42%	(9) 56%
Not Helpful	(6) 14%	(8) 19%	(6) 23%	(5) 31%
TOTALS	(43) 100%	(43) 100%	(26) 100%	(16) 100%

Generally, information derived from the interview schedule on the kinds of difficulties experienced by the respondents while on parole as well as the kinds of people and social agencies they had turned to for help with these problems demonstrated little difference between the experimental and control groups within either sex. One might have expected that in the absence of close parole supervision the youth or the family would have sought out alternative sources of help from established social agencies within the community. This was not demonstrated to be the case. Instead, those who were presumably closest to the youth were sought out.

Youth anticipation of behavior that would most likely get them in future trouble with the law followed no clearly dominant pattern. In decreasing order, the boys listed drinking and drugs (32%), minor traffic violations (26%), and running away (9%) while the girls listed drinking and drugs (25%), curfew violations and running away from home (25%), minor traffic violations (13%), and truancy (13%). In general, a larger proportion of girls as compared to boys listed a wider number of misbehaviors likely to get them into legal difficulties in the future. One could speculate from this that as a result of past experiences the girls are more sensitive to the potential for becoming involved with juvenile justice systems as a result of the commision of "juvenile status offenses."

Outcome on Parole

Information on parole outcome - weeks from release to first arrest, parole revocations, number and type of offenses leading to parole revocation, and weeks to parole revocation - was obtained from official reports. Thus in terms of a true estimate of legal violations this information will be an underestimate; missing will be offenses that were either not known or reported by the police.

Table Five presents reported information on the number of weeks from release on parole to first apprehension or arrest by police, irrespective of whether the parole was revoked. Making the assumption that an arrest or apprehension is a rough gauge of involvement in delinquent acts, this information can be taken as an indicator of whether the fact of experimental status had an effect upon time to first known or suspected delinquent acts.

Table Five
Weeks to First Arrest or Apprehension by Group

	MALES			FEMALES		
	Exp	Cont	Res	Exp	Cont	Res
0-08 wks	(13)	(19)	(20)	(5)	(7)	(11)
	25%	30%	31%	28%	40%	32%
9-16 wks	(15)	(12)	(120)	(5)	(5)	(10)
	30%	20%	22%	28%	30%	30%
17-20 wks	(10)	(6)	(8)	(3)	(0)	(4)
	20%	10%	15%	16%		12%
21-40 wks	(13)	(25)	(14)	(5)	(5)	(9)
	25%	40%	26%	28%	30%	26%
TOTALS	(51)	(62)	(54)	(18)	(17)	(34)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When the groups are compared on the basis of first arrest or apprehension occurring within either the first half or second half of the forty-week period, the only moderate tendency apparent is for a larger proportion of male control group members (41%) as compared to male experimentals (26%) to have been first arrested or apprehended during the latter half of the follow-up period. Neither the fact of experimental status nor the fact of sex appears to have had any significant effect upon the length of time to first apprehension or arrest while on parole.

Table Six presents information by group on the number and percentage of youth having had parole revoked, those with parole not revoked, and those discharged to another authority. The "other authority" to which youth were discharged included transferring their legal status to that of "youthful offender," discharge into military service, or discharge to a mental hospital.

Looking only at the two values of parole revocation and no parole revocation, no significant difference is apparent between the male and female study groups or within the female study group. Within the male study group a significant difference is evident with more control group members (38%) than experimentals (21%) having had parole revoked within a ten-month period.

Table Six
Parole Revocation and Parole Discharge by Group

	MALE			FEMALE		
	Res	Exp	Cont	Res	Exp	Cont
Parole Revoked	(24) 26%	(18) 21%	(32) 38%	(16) 31%	(12) 34%	(13) 45%
Not Revoked	(57) 62%	(59) 69%	(50) 60%	(34) 65%	(23) 66%	(16) 55%
Discharged to other authority	(11) 12%	(8) 10%	(3) 4%	(2) 4%	(0)	(0)
TOTALS	(92) 100%	(85) 100%	(85) 100%	(52) 100%	(35) 100%	(29) 100%

While not statistically significant, several tendencies are apparent in this table. First, across all comparable groups a higher proportion of females than males had parole revoked. While 34 percent and 45 percent of the female experimental and control group members had parole revoked within the ten-month follow-up period, the proportions for the male experimental and control group members were only 21 percent and 38 percent. A similar difference is apparent

between the proportion of male (26%) and female (31%) residual group members having had parole revoked. A further tendency reflected in these distributions is the larger proportion of female control group members (45%) as compared to experimental group members (34%) having had parole revoked.

A rather consistent difference in both the male and female study groups emerges with a larger proportion of control as compared to experimental group members having had parole revoked. On a more general level this information indicates that almost one third of the total population of 378 youth had parole revoked within a ten-month period following institutional release.

Table Seven presents information on the nature of the offenses officially listed as grounds for parole revocation.

Table Seven
Seriousness of Offenses Giving Rise to Parole Revocation

	MALES			FEMALES		
	Exp	Cont	Res	Exp	Cont	Res
High Serious	(21) 79%	(24) 50%	(26) 56%	(5) 29%	(1) 6%	(1) 4%
Low Serious	(6) 21%	(24) 50%	(20) 44%	(12) 71%	(16) 94%	(23) 96%
TOTALS	(27) 100%	(48) 100%	(46) 100%	(17) 100%	(17) 100%	(24) 100%

As is obvious from inspection of this table, a significant difference is evident between the proportion of male (60%) and female (18%) study group members having had parole revoked for the commision of "high" serious types of offenses. Conversely, a larger proportion of the female study group members (82%) compared to the male study group members (40%) had less serious types of offenses listed as grounds for parole revocation. This difference also holds between the male and female residual groups. Across all groups, males had parole revoked for the commission of more serious offenses.

Within the study groups, a significant difference is evident between the male and experimental and control groups. A larger proportion of experimental group members (78%) as compared to control group members (52%) were offically listed as committing more serious types of offenses as grounds for parole revocation.

These findings would seem to confirm the previously noted tendencies relating to the offenses leading to institutional placement. Thus on the basis that girls are placed in institutional settings for less serious crimes, one would expect that a similar pattern would hold in the types of offenses for which their paroles are revoked. Furthermore, one would expect that experimental group members, having had less supervision from parole officers, would have paroles revoked for more serious types of offenses.

Table Eight presents information on the time in weeks from insititutional release to parole revocation. No significant difference is apparent either within or between the groups. The moderate tendencies that are apparent are not in the same direction. Thus a larger proportion of the female control group members (62%) as compared to the experimentals (41%) had parole revoked within the first half of the forty-week period while within the male groups there is a slight tendency for a larger proportion of the experimentals (56%) as compared to the controls (50%) to have had parole revoked within this inital time period. In short, the fact of experimental status had no significant effect upon time to parole revocation.

Table Eight
Time to Parole Revocation

	MALES			FEMALES		
	Res	Exp	Cont	Res	Exp	Cont
1-20 wks	(15)	(10)	(16)	(8)	(5)	(8)
	63%	56%	50%	50%	41%	62%
21-40 wks	(9)	(8)	(16)	(8)	(7)	(5)
	37%	44%	50%	50%	59%	38%
TOTALS	(24)	(18)	(32)	(16)	(12)	(13)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The following table presents a summary statement on the status of the total population of youth at the end of the tenth month following release on parole.

Table Nine
Summary Status of Population at Eleventh Month

	MALE			FEMALE		
	Res	Exp	Cont	Res	Exp	Cont
absconded	(3)	(4)	(1)	(6)	(1)	(3)
	3%	5%	1%	12%	3%	10%
recommended for or discharged from parole	(29)	(40)	(31)	(14)	(13)	(5)
	31%	47%	36%	26%	38%	17%
in correctional institution	(23)	(18)	(27)	(13)	(9)	(8)
	25%	21%	32%	25%	26%	28%
in military	(7)	(6)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
	8%	7%	3%			
on parole and continuance recommended	(22)	(13)	(19)	(15)	(9)	(7)
	24%	15%	22%	29%	26%	24%
returned, paroled again	(8)	(4)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(6)
	9%	5%	6%	8%	9%	21%
TOTALS	(92)	(85)	(85)	(52)	(35)	(29)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

A number of tendencies are reflected in this data. First, the fact of having been placed on experimental status does not seem to have had any significant effect upon the youth either absconding or moving with their families without, in the process, notifying the parole office. With regard to recommendation for, or discharge from parole, there is a larger proportion of both male and female experimental group members than controls either discharged from parole or recommended for discharge at the end of the tenth month. For youth placed in a variety of correctional institutions - whether a city or county jail, juvenile institution, or a reformatory - both the male and female groups had a smaller proportion of experimentals than controls situated in these facilities at ten months following release on parole.

The value "on parole and recommended for continuance" refers to the recommendation made by the parole officer to the Youth Commission at the end of ten months following release that the youth be retained on parole for a longer period of time. Generally, there is a slightly larger proportion of girls as compared to boys having had parole continuation recommended by the parole officer. Within the male group a lower proportion of experimentals than controls was recommended for continuance while the reverse is the case within the girls group. The final value on Table Nine refers to those occasions when a youth was returned to a correctional institution on parole revocation and then released back on parole prior to the completion of the ten-month period from original release.

Summary and Conclusions

The major purpose of this research was to assess whether randomly selected male and female parolees could do as well without formal parole supervision as under conventional parole supervision. In addition, this study attempted to assess the kind and amount of help sought out and received within the community by the respective experimental and control group subjects as well as to determine the characteristics of juvenile-aged parolees released from the two major correctional institutions in the State of Minnesota.

To meet these objectives, all boys and girls released on parole from the two institutions over a ten month period and meeting specified criteria were randomly assigned to experimental and control status. Those not meeting the study criteria were assigned to a residual group and followed up along with the study groups for a ten month period. An Interview Schedule was administered either at the end of the tenth month on parole or at the time of the youth's return to a correctional institution.

While the design of this research was relatively clear-cut and approximated an 'after-only' field experiment, the major problems involved in conducting the study were those of integrating the design into the variety of legal, ethical, program and policy constraints of the major administrative units having relevance for juvenile parole in the State.

The data presented in this study tends to indicate that simply assigning cases on the basis of providing differential degrees of exposure to parole supervision does not have a significant positive impact upon the parole adjustment of juvenile-aged boys and girls. Within the group of boys, significantly more control group members as compared to experimentals had parole revoked during the ten month follow-up, while within the group of girls a similar but not statistically significant tendency was apparent. Across all

groups, a significantly larger proportion of males as compared to females had parole revoked for the commission of more serious types of offenses.

A major difference in the manner boys and girls were handled by the juvenile justice systems of the State was brought out in this study. Girls experienced fewer opportunities to remain within the local community either on probation status or in county-operated institutional settings and were committed to the Youth Commission and subsequently placed in State operated correctional institutions at a younger age and for the commission of less serious types of offenses.

Information obtained from the Interview Schedule indicated that close relatives and peers as compared to more professionally defined helping people were found to be most frequently indicated as people with whom problems were discussed and the fact of experimental status did not significantly relate to either the type of people sought out for help, the frequency they were sought out, or the extent to which they were defined as helpful. The proportion of male and female study group members who indicated having visited a variety of social welfare agencies for help with problems while on parole was very small and was not found to significantly differ between the groups.

When the major findings of this research are viewed within the context of the body of outcome research conducted within the corrections field in general and parole work in particular, the very assumptions lying behind both the processes of doing such helping work as well as the evaluation of such work within this field of practice need to be re-assessed. At least three major ingredients of this re-assessment would include; a more detailed look at the career of the offender and particularly as this develops out of interaction with elements of the criminal justice system, the nature of the organizational contexts within which the helping work is purportedly

being conducted, and the nature of the helping work itself. Closer attention must be paid to the environmental contexts within which helping work in corrections is being performed and particularly as these environments directly impinge upon the individual offender as the change target. A number of relevant issues would seem to be involved here. First, what Goffman[11] refers to as the 'moral career' of the individual offender as this develops out of interaction with the various components of the criminal justice system needs to be considered in more empirically based detail than has generally been the case. In particular, attention needs to be paid to the major kinds of learning experiences afforded through this interaction and the manner in which these come to affect the individual offender's conception of self.

Involved here is more of a process oriented view of the individual progressing through at least some part of a sequence of stages -apprehension, trial, institutional placement, parole- each of which can have some determinate kinds of effects upon the offender's life situation and consequent view of self. These units of the system must be seen as connected in the sense that the individual's experiences in each are viewed as having consequences in the others.[12]

Also integral to this view of the individual caught up in the criminal justice system is a focus on the nature of the decisions made about or on behalf of the offender by officials within the system and the types of effects flowing from these. These decisions can, in effect, be seen as career contingencies which may have more to do with the individual's legal status than his own behavior.

Intimately involved in this systemic view of the individual implicated in the criminal justice system is the need for a greater sensitivity to the expected kinds of effects following from treatment actions in any one stage

of the system. If the self is conceived as a processual phenomenon largely developing out of social interaction, then it would seem highly optimistic to expect that the total sequence of "status degradation events" structured into the criminal justice system could be offset, neutralized, or reversed through the introduction of a relatively isolated and comparatively 'weak' treatment stimulus. Whether this stimulus takes the form of group counselling, casework, or some form of psychotherapy, it seems highly improbable that significant changes would occur on the part of the labelled offender. Not only are the stimuli which are added into the system relatively weak in relation to the pro-criminal forces to which the offender is exposed but they are themselves usually diluted in terms of clarity of purpose and procedure.[13]

FOOTNOTES

1. This research was supported by grant NI-052 provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. For the full report on this study see; Hamilton C. Hudson, "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Providing Differential Degrees of Parole Supervision to a Group Of Juvenile-Aged Boys and Girls," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1972.

2. The Youth Conservation Commission is composed of five part-time citizen members appointed by the Governor with the sixth member being the Deputy Commissioner of Corrections for Youth or his appointed alternate. A prime function of this Board is the placement and release of youth in State operated correctional institutions.

3. Such compromises as were made here between ideal research procedures and administrative constraints are a central feature of evaluation research. For incisive discussions of this issue see: Peter H. Rossi, "Evaluating Social Action Programs," Trans-action, 4, 1967, pp. 51-53; John Mann, "Technical and Social Difficulties in the Conduct of Evaluative Research," included in Francis G. Caro, editor. Readings in Evaluation Research, New York, Russell Sage, 1971, pp. 175-184; and Edward A. Suchman, Evaluative Research, New York, Russell Sage, 1967, pp. 151-166.

4. The following major studies have all used reduced caseloads on parole as a central feature of the experimental treatment; the Special Intensive Parole Unit studies, the Narcotic Treatment-Control Project, the San Francisco Project, the Parole Research Project, the Community Treatment Project, the Community Delinquency Control Project, and the Community Parole Center Project. All were conducted in California and for the most part used rigorous experimental procedures. For reviews of this literature see; Stuart Adams, "Some Findings from Correctional Caseload Research," Federal Probation, December, 1967, pp. 48-57; Eleanor Harlow, "Intensive Intervention: An Alternative to Institutionalization," Crime and Delinquency Literature, 2, February, 1970, pp. 3-46; H.J. Vetter and R. Adams, "Effectiveness of Probation Caseload Sizes: A Review of the Empirical Literature," Criminology, February, 1971, pp. 333-343; and R. Adams and H. J. Vetter, "Probation Caseload Size and Recidivism Rate," The British Journal of Criminology, October, 1971, pp. 390-393.

5. There is evidence to indicate that decreasing caseload size does not lead to a corresponding increase in the amount of supervisory contact between the parole officer and parolee. See on this point Arthur P. Miles, "A Time Study of Wisconsin Probation and Parole Agents," Division of Corrections, Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare, March 1964, pp. 19, 22.

6. Unless otherwise noted, the chi square test for two independent samples was used in comparing groups. The .05 level was used as the criterion for determining statistical significance.

7. The reliability of this scale was found to be quite high as indicated by a Spearman correlation coefficient corrected for tied rankings of .95 (P less than .01). Furthermore, the number of judges used in the construction of this scale was sizeable-46-and this instrument does show considerable consistency with others that have been developed. For similar scales see; Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer, An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency; The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 331-332; LaMar T. Empey and Steven G. Lubeck, The Silverlake Experiment, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1971, p. 106.

   The question of the validity of this scale is difficult to assess as there is no external criterion which can be used to compare the relative seriousness of offenses. In terms of face validity, the scale appears plausible. Furthermore, the internal consistency of the rankings appear to hold up when the offenses are compared in relation to those that involve damage or loss to others and those that do not.

8. See; Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang, The Measurement of Delinquency, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1964, pp. 71-80.

9. Similar findings on the nature of offenses by male and female adolescents were found by Barker and Adams in their study of institutionalized delinquents in Colorado. See; Gordon H. Barker and William T. Adams, "Comparison of the Delinquencies of Boys and Girls," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 53, December 1962, pp. 470-475.

10. Similar findings are available in Cohn's study dealing with the recommended dispositions for juvenile boys and girls appearing before the Juvenile Court. See; Yona Cohn, "Criteria for the Probation Officer's Recommendation to the Juvenile Court Judge," Crime and Delinquency, July 1963, esp. pp. 265-266. For similar findings based upon an analysis of national juvenile court statistics see; Paul Lerman, "Beyond Gault: Injustice and the Child," included in Paul Lerman, editor, Delinquency and Social Policy, New York, Praiger, 1970, pp. 236-250.

11. Erving Goffman, Stigma, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 32.

12. For one of the very few examples of a theoretical statement on parole which systematically relates to the prior institutional context of the offender, see; Jerome Skolnick, "Toward A Developmental Theory of Parole," American Sociological Review, 25, August, 1960, pp. 285-297.

13. A wide literature exists dealing with the conflicting purposes of correctional procedures both within institutional contexts as well as within probation and parole agencies. For example, see; Donald R. Cressey, "Limitations on Organization of Treatment in the Modern Prison," included in Richard A. Cloward, et al., Theoretical Studies

in Social Organization of the Prison, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960, esp. pp. 86-88; Lloyd E Ohlin, Herman Piven, and Donnell M. Pappenfort, "Major Dilemmas of the Social Worker in Probation and Parole," included in Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward, editors, Social Perspectives on Behavior, New York, The Free Press, 1965, pp. 251-262; Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1964, pp. 423-442; Arthur Miles, "The Reality of the Probation Officer's Dilemma," Federal Probation, 29, March 1965, pp. 18-23; Herman Piven, Professionalism and Organizational Structure: Training and Agency Variables is Relation to Practitioner Orientation and Practice, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1961.

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